1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

experts are rightly questioning some of the obvious economic difficulties of trying to farm several scattered strips from a village home base, but they sometimes forget the social efficiencies found in a village in contrast to the isolated farmstead. Some of this social efficiency becomes apparent as soon as one arrives in the *plateia*, the village square.

The Plateia

Any visitor from outside is expected by the villagers to make his identity and business known as soon as possible, not to conform to any legal or police requirements but to satisfy the lively, usually friendly village curiosity. The plateia is the stage for this performance. Upon entering the village, one heads toward the most imposing coffeehouse in the plateia. A reception committee springs apparently from nowhere in the person of the local village president or some other dignitary. By the time the coffeehouse is reached, the visitor becomes the honored guest and is asked what refreshment he prefers — coffee or something stronger. Meanwhile, four or five other men, who consider themselves important enough locally to display such forwardness, join the reception committee at the table. Others stand around to watch what the strangers do and to listen to the conversation. Such situations call to mind the observation of a traveler through the Balkans and Eastern Europe half a century ago, who pointed out that when the Russian or the Turk had no business to occupy him, he went home; but when the Greek or the Jew had nothing to do, he stood on the corner of the square hoping something would turn up.[1] After the newcomers have observed the formalities and explained the purpose of the visit, everyone can then sit back and relax to drink the sirupy coffee or to give one's throat a chance to cool after each swallow of the fiery *ouzo*. Only then can the visitor really devote his attention to what the people who pass through the square are doing or wearing.

First there are the children, some of them startled as they suddenly see their reflection in the shiny chromium automobile bumper; other youngsters settle down to some simple game after the visitor becomes monopolized by the older people. Next comes a man carrying pottery jars to the fountain at the edge of the square, getting water for his coffeeshop around the corner. Peasants on their way from the fields ride their carts through the square, with a spare horse used for plowing led along behind. The animals as well as the very small children shy away from the automobile. Women look from the windows of the nearby houses at the group at the tables under the trees in front of the coffeehouse, but only very few ever venture close enough to hear what the men are talking about. A bus from the city pulls in with a roar and a clatter and quickly becomes the center of attention.

As the sights and sounds of the people and the animals become familiar,

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Attica

dweller can seldom appreciate. Many a villager may curse the land or bless it, as the seafarer does the sea, but he does it as though he were speaking of a part of his own body. In this he resembles his forebears of three thousand years ago. Legally, however, land ownership in Greece has gone a full cycle in the past three millenniums.[6]

A good vantage point from which to view this cycle of land ownership is Attica, the area around Athens. The average tourist to Greece speeds down the road from Athens on his way through the Attic countryside to Sounion, where Poseidon's temple overlooks the sea; or he drives a few miles north to Marathon to climb the memorial mound; he moves through Attica for forty or fifty miles on his way to Megara and Corinth, ancient places to be seen and photographed. On all of these trips he will see peasants everywhere. In the spring and summer they are bringing loads of vegetables — carrots, tomatoes, squash — into the city; in the fall they are taking grapes from the vineyards to be pressed by foot in the large wooden vats or, as winter comes, carrying the dead branches of the vines home to burn in their small, cold houses. Their slow-moving animals delay the tourist bus, their sheep respond erratically to the auto horn, but the peasants themselves seem unconcerned about the traffic. And the land, the dusty countryside, dotted with the gray-green olive groves, and the dark points of the cypress, surrounded by heights incredibly changing from silver to rose to violet and purple in the dusk, must look very much the same as it did when travelers or Athenians described it long ago.

In the sixth century B.C. most of the soil of Attica was in the hands of individual proprietors. It was "cultivated, as far as it was cultivable at all, by peasant proprietors, who appear to have been, if not prosperous, at least independent and contented until the devastation of Attica in the Peloponnesian War brought with it widespread unsettlement and ruin and inaugurated a period of hardship and struggle for the rural population."[7] Today peasant proprietors again work their own land, independent and moderately content, on the Attic plain and up the rocky slopes where crops, vineyards or olive trees can be made to grow.

The story of what happened between the Golden Age's peasant proprietors and the return of the land to peasant owners in the Atomic Age not only reveals much about the past of Greece but helps explain the contemporary peasant's concern for land.[8] The individual property holder, sometimes medium and sometimes small, persisted, although with difficulty, from classic times down to the Byzantine period. Then some villages, called *kephalochoria*, did manage even under Byzantium to preserve the private peasant holdings, and many more settlements possessed communal property to serve the needs of the commune. But most of the individual holdings yielded to the large estate which belonged to the crown, the nobles, or the clergy.[9] After the end of Byzantium in 1453, the Turkish

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
[Winter] Peloponnesos

lard; we have bought our oil, our kerosene, salt; we have made *trachanas* [wheat coarsely cut, cooked in milk, dried, and then recooked into a soup or porridge]; our wood is gathered for the fireplace and the oven. In winter we get up before the light. The nights are long and we get our full sleep. We go to bed as soon as it darkens. The older people go to bed with the chickens. For that reason we get up when it is still dark with the third crowing of the rooster, who wakes us all up. The fireplace is going night and day. In one corner sleep grandpa and grandma. In another corner the wife and husband. All around sleep the children. It is the house of the poor. The first to waken up is grandma, who puts the water on the fire for the trachanas; she next wakes grandpa and the housewife, and when the trachanas is ready we all get up. The trachanas is poured by the mother into the deep soup plates and we all eat it hot around the fire. With the trachanas we eat olives, cheese, and we also drink some wine. Wine is never missing. When the children are many, the mother makes breadcrumbs, throws them into the saucepan, gives a spoon to each child and they all eat the trachanas. When the trachanas is nearly finished then it is a madhouse. The children each try to eat the biggest crumb; the crust of the trachanas is around the edges of the pan and at the bottom. Great laughter is heard when the crust is snatched away from one spoon to another.

The children who go to school go out to the fountain, wash a bit their faces, and when they hear the bell, pick up their booksacks and go to school. Whoever's turn it is to light the stove in the school has to go before the others; each child has to take a log. Thus the stove gets fed and all the children keep warm. Those who remain in the house do the housework. The women spin, look after the animals, even weave. The men turn a little around in circles, do some small jobs and go to the shops. Whoever has a gun takes his dog and goes rabbit hunting. The children who are too small to go to school roll themselves on the floor, sit by the fire which they feed. What jobs could they do anyhow? Only damage can they do and then they are spanked. The winter is for women's tasks. Then the women have time to weave, to darn, to spin. When it rains and snows it is a calamity. Mud! Nobody can get dried out; it's nice in winter when the sun appears. Then all of us like foxes try to catch a sunny spot. There we sit and talk of our own affairs. The children play with snowballs. When the sun sets we all snuggle near the fireplace whilst others go to the shops. If anybody has a task he first finishes it and then sits down.

In the shops we gather and play cards. We talk to each other, we tease each other, we quarrel and we shout a bit. From the cigarette smoke one cannot see another; when the *dodekaïmera* [December 25 to January 6 holidays] start, the women stop weaving and the other tasks and start baking *christopsoma* [Christmas bread], ring cookies, St. Basil's cake, put the house in order, and whatever other tasks belong to the dodekaïmera. The

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos

221 512 [275] turn; some to hear some news, others to buy a cigarette. Many have their evening meals before and go afterwards.

[241] *Summer.* As soon as *Theristes* [June: the Harvester] begins we start preparing ourselves for harvesting. One looks for an extra workman, others prepare their sickles, we all mix ourselves into the harvest tasks. Nobody remains at home. The children come and help too in the carrying. During summertime school is closed. They have their examinations in the presence [876] of the entire village; they recite poems and give dramatic sketches. This is done on a Sunday after church inside the school.

[241] When we have good harvests we start threshing; then we winnow; then we sack the wheat and put it in our storerooms. The straw we carry into our storage huts. After these jobs are finished we go to the mountains to cut wood and we water the maize. During summer the big festival of St. 221 Elias takes place. All the village is in an upheaval. When we have returned 796 from the Church of St. Elias we all start dancing and are merry. Lots of 535 people come from other villages. The musicians play all day and night. During the summer evenings under the moonlight the women gather with the girls and the children on the threshing floors, in courtyards, and wherever there is an opening. And they "nightspin." There they sing songs, tell jokes, ask riddles, say tongue twisters. The small children and girls play all kinds of games and end with dancing.

Fall. As fall starts, the big festival of Panagia, the 8th of *Trygetes* [September: the Grape Gatherer] comes. The dance and merriment last until dawn. Music does not stop for one minute. After our festival follows that 221 of Mazeika [a nearby town]. There we buy what we need: livestock, wool, 241 clothes, equipment for the house, agricultural implements, and whatever [438] else. But in order to buy we have to sell. For that reason we sell walnuts and wheat. What else can we sell? We haven't got anything. The walnuts [432] we gathered before the festival. When the festival has come to an end we start our work again. Then we gather our beans, we pick our grapes, we [273] press them, we put our wines to ferment, harvest our maize and husk it and place it in wooden cases, and we get ready to sow our wheat. We prepare our agricultural equipment and our seed and we wait for rain. When it has rained we start sowing up to Christmas. In fall also we open our wines [273] and down there in our basement a great merriment goes on.

221 82 The life in our village is all work and a hard lot. If God wants us and our animals to eat we do so; if it rains we will sow; if there is *Livas* [hot south wind] our crops are scorched; if God throws sickness on our vineyards we do not eat grapes; if the grasshopper comes we have a disaster; if we have little water during the summer our maize doesn't grow. God is regulating our lives, and if you dare 4o, don't believe in Him and don't

1:Sanders Z-5,1 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Macedonia

241 before they left had cleaned us out and we had nothing with which to do our farming. I tried to get into a technical school, for there isn't enough work for me to do here; I also tried to get into a factory in Salonica but the same favoritism worked there."

He looked bitter and tired.

"Did you sell your tobacco for a good price?"

[426] "Yes, I did get 7,000 drachmas for my tobacco but I was already 5,500
[435] drachmas in debt. And for the crop I am now putting in I'm already heavily
[464] in debt. What does the price of tobacco matter when sugar is going up from 16 to 20 drachmas an oka? Today there is not an oka of sugar in Alistrate for use in case of sickness. There is unemployment, not enough fields; we can't rent any more land, for soil is too expensive. How can I live? If I could, I would emigrate anywhere. I don't care where. It would be a better life."

This young peasant's dark view of his world in 1953 was due to much more than the fact that he had only one horse and had to wait restlessly while a neighbor was using it in a team. He was representative of the young village people who are uprooted because of lack of economic opportunity at home or elsewhere and who become psychologically dispossessed. No matter how willing they are to work, or how hard they do work, they have neither enough bread nor enough security.

Not far down the road we stopped to talk to an elderly couple who, with
[249] one of their three unmarried daughters, were chopping out the weeds from
[273] around the anise plants (anise is used for flavoring ouzo, a popular and
[412] potent alcoholic drink in Greece). They were using short-handled hoes, a fact that led to a discussion of their farming methods which more nearly resembled those of their ancient forebears than those of the twentieth century. The description of a Greek village in an UNRRA publication just after World War II might well have been describing them, although the old couple got most of their income from tobacco rather than grain:

[407]
[412] Plows are the major implements used. Crops are cultivated by hand with hoes and harvested with the sickle or corn knife. Grain is threshed by driving livestock over it and the chaff is separated by tossing in the wind. The method of seeding is to plow the land, scatter the seed and plow again. Sometimes the seed is dropped in the furrow and covered by the succeeding furrow. The rate of seeding is very high and at least one-third more seed than necessary is sown.

[462] Primitive methods of cultivation result in many long days being spent in the fields by the women and children — an average of 250 days per year. Often the women carry their babies and small children to the fields and watch over them while working.[9]

Although this old couple complained about not having enough food, showing us that they had only bread and water in their bag, nevertheless

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
So. Greece

hands moved busily to fill more sacks as the afternoon wore on. At five o'clock, when it was getting chilly once more with the setting of the sun, the girls would collect their brightly colored jackets and bundles from a tree where they hung and move down toward the mill to wait for next day's instructions and, incidentally, to have a further chat with friends.

"How many sacks did you fill today?"

"Oh, Maria and I picked 70 okas," which we learned was a fair average for medium-sized olives for two pickers.

"Yes, you picked larger olives today but we had to pick the small ones. That's why we got only 40 okas."

After hearing about the work for the following day the girls formed in groups and headed back home for a well-earned rest. This daily round lasts well into January in Southern Greece, with February being the end of the harvest farther north.

When the day's harvesting is done, the focus of attention shifts to the mill. Somewhat against their will, the men who have been working in the warm air inside are asked to go out and gather the sacks the girls have left under the trees. These are tied onto pack animals and brought into the mill, each sack having been identified by the girl filling it as to whether its olives were from the tree or from the ground.

The peasants, whose womenfolk have been harvesting their own trees during the day, bring their olives to the mill, weigh them in, empty the bags into the place allotted each person, and then hang around for a chat with the mill workers and with the other peasants who show up. Here the day's news is exchanged to the accompaniment of barking dogs, the noisy impatience of donkeys and horses, and the cries of a small child perched precariously on a wooden saddle which formerly had been carrying the bags of olives. If the men in the mill have stopped for their evening meal, the peasant may have a drink with them. Eventually he will ask: "When do you think you'll get to my batch of olives?"

"About one o'clock tomorrow, for we have some real ripe olives that Panagiotes just brought in which must be pressed before they turn rancid. Hey, Panagiotes, why didn't you bring these olives two days ago? They are already beginning to turn." In reply to the foreman, now running the mill instead of directing the work of the girls, Panagiotes gives some lame excuse about having to use his donkey to do some other kind of work, but agrees to be more careful in the days ahead.

The peasant who learns that his olives will have been pressed by one o'clock on the next day will probably arrive about noon and wait; he does not consider it good etiquette for him to watch the olives go through the various stages: the grinding into pulp by the big millstone, the putting of the pulp into the goat hair or jute "folders," the pressing of these folders under 150 pounds of pressure, the pulling out of the folders and their re-

1:Sanders Z-5M (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
So. Greece

258 placement in a stack one at a time after three gallons of boiling water have
[576] been poured over each, and the final subjection of the stack to 200 pounds
of pressure. If the peasant carefully watched this while his olives were being
[465] processed, it would show lack of trust in the honesty of the millowner, to
whom he must give 10 percent of the oil before he takes the rest home to
be stored in earthenware jars for later use or sale. When he comes for his
● [273] olives, the peasant will probably bring a gallon of wine to the workmen who
drink to his health, saying "Kalaphagoto" (May it be well eaten). Later,
251 in visiting the homes of the villagers, I asked about the storage of the oil
262 and found that the big jars were kept in the storeroom with the hay and
fodder. These jars were covered with a wooden lid. When I removed the
lid I noticed a rancid odor quite different from the oil I had sampled during
the pressing at the mill. "This oil has spoiled," I said, in my ignorance.
"No, that is just right," I was told. "We want our oil to smell like oil,"
which was another way of saying that a certain degree of rancidness was
considered most desirable.

465 And seeing in the home one of the young women who had been engaged
[245] in the harvesting a few weeks before, I asked how much she had earned.
Since she was a good worker, she had been given 1.5 okas (4.2 pounds) of
oil per day for 42 days. When told how many dollars such an amount of
pure olive oil would bring in America, her eyes opened wide and she said,
"If only I had all of my oil in that many dollars I could start to build that
[258] house in Athens that I want for my dowry." The six or seven men that
work through the season in the mill are even better off, for they receive
2.5 okas of oil per day as wages, and the foreman gets 3 okas; in addition,
their food is usually provided by either the millowner or the peasant pro-
ducers who bring their crop to be pressed.

241 The description of the distribution and utilization of arable land and
433 these encounters with the peasant at work show that the peasant is not
so self-subsistent as he used to be. He is more than a producer who uses
511 only what he grows; he must also market his products to pay off his loan
from the agricultural bank, which he incurred in order to get more equip-
ment, good seed, or better livestock. He needs money for taxes, clothing,
many food items, and other necessities such as kerosene and hardware.
What he gets for the work he has done depends upon government credit
and price policies, world markets, his adoption of efficient farm practices,
and the marketing facilities set up near him.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Saturday; in other villages it may be on Thursday evening or Friday. Now and then one may come upon a group of women making use of a neighborhood oven where combined efforts mean greater economy of fuel. More and more, village bakers are relieving housewives of the baking chores, although the women must prepare the loaves and other food for the oven. Throughout rural Greece the bread is usually dark, since only about 2.5 percent of the bran is extracted.

It is hard to think of Greek food, however, without thinking of the resinated wine that is served to guests with the meal. Foreign travelers never fail to react quite strongly to the taste and properties of this unusual drink. Z. D. Ferriman in his *Home Life in Hellas* (1910) describes it as

> a beverage whose odour has been compared to various things — furniture polish and melted sealing-wax among others. A high dignitary of the Church from Constantinople said of it many centuries ago, that it resembled the juice of the pine tree rather than that of the grape, an observation that is strictly true. To the novice it is extremely nauseous, and some people never acquire the taste. To the Greek it is nectar. He lauds its flavour of turpentine on account of its alleged peptic qualities.[1]

On holidays and special occasions the men, as already noted, may drink ouzo.

In addition to her preoccupation with food, although it is served simply and in limited variety, the housewife also has to spend much time preparing clothes for her family. This holds true even though the villagers throughout Greece no longer wear the highly embroidered costumes of two or three generations ago and have adopted the Western style of dress. Some villages, such as Megara near Athens, with an eye on the tourist dollar, are exceptions to this rule, for their streets become resplendent on Sundays and holidays as some of the residents stroll in traditional dress. There are, however, little touches of costume which vary from one region to another. The nomadic peoples, described earlier, can always be identified by their black garb; the Turkish men of Thrace by their baggy trousers and fezzes and their women by veils and ballooning Turkish trousers.

But the Greek peasant styles are becoming more uniform. In the northern Peloponnesos the women wear as a standard work garment a skirt and a blouse, along with heelless pigskin moccasins, pointed at the toe. In many other parts of Greece a chemise, with or without sleeves, is common. These garments and their underwear are woven and sewn at home; the "woolies" which are worn in cold weather are knitted by the women. On Sunday the women wear a "best" dress, which they may have bought in town or at least modeled on a dress someone else obtained there. Underneath is the customary slip. Regular Western shoes with heels are a part of the dress-up outfit. When the women are working outside they wear headscarfs, with the

1:Sanders Z-5,1 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Engagement

Once dowry arrangements have been completed, the couple becomes engaged. This is invariably a festive occasion at the home of the girl, which calls not only for the hiring of musicians but frequently the preparation of special dishes, such as fried octopus, and the serving of great quantities of brandy and special liqueurs. The significance of the engagement is stressed by the fact that it often involves the village and not just the families concerned. One day while riding muleback in the mountains of Epirus we heard the sound of music from a distance. As we approached a small hamlet, small because most people were afraid to live in that politically unsettled area, we recognized the music as that of the *daouli* (big drum) and bagpipe. As we passed through, the president of the community came out and invited us to stop and join in the festivities. Here, as elsewhere, I learned that there were ceremonial ways in which the couple plight their troth: exchange of glasses of sweet liqueur from which they each drink and, more importantly, the exchange of heavy rings. If both sets of parents are alive, it is the custom in the Peloponnesos for the bride's mother to be the first to hand the rings over to the couple, the groom's father then repeats this, and the bride's does so for the third time. The priest is not involved nor is the *koumbaros* (sponsor at the wedding to follow and godparent at the baptism) called upon at this time.

The engagement period is not viewed as a time of exploration and reaching a decision by the young people as to whether they are actually suited to each other; in Greece, once engaged, the couple is expected to marry, and there is almost no breaking off of an engagement. This step is regarded as serious as the wedding itself, for it is a public recognition that two families are to be related. But customs during the engagement period vary considerably in Greece. For example, the customary length of engagement may vary from one week or less in a few villages to less than a year in other places, although most generally the engagement period would be at least a year. This is a feverish period of activity on the part of the family to ensure the collection of all necessary dowry items. In some parts of Greece the young man may go to live in the home of his future in-laws if he is needed there. He may be working in the village where he found his bride-to-be and, rather than maintain separate bachelor's quarters or board with some other family, he may move into his future home. Or, if he has no fields of his own and goes to work on his in-laws' estate, he will probably move into the in-laws' home. In Aetolia, if the boy is from a different village, he can come from time to time to the bride's house for a visit of a few days; if he is from the same village, he also can visit the home but seldom spends a night there.

The casual way in which young people occasionally talked about their engagement stressed the social rather than personal aspects of this experi-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Marriage

Even before an engagement is agreed upon, relatives check the kinship of the boy and girl to be sure that they are not too closely related to marry. In Mesolongi, for instance, a few years ago those related up to the fourth degree could not marry, but this is beginning to break down somewhat. Around Arta second cousins may marry, but in many parts of Macedonia there are restrictions up to third cousins. Generally throughout Greece, young people with the same godparent are considered "spiritual brethren" and cannot marry. It does not take long for some knowledgeable relative to review the kinship lines and decide whether the engagement would violate local customs, which are as important as the official church position on this matter.

Panos D. Bardis, in writing on the main features of the Greek family during the twentieth century, summarizes the teachings of the Greek Orthodox Church regarding the goals of marriage as follows: 1. increase of the human race; 2. promotion of mutual helpfulness among the members of the family; 3. restraint of passions; 4. Christian training of the young. He points out that some of these goals have been only partially achieved because of the patriarchal and authoritarian nature of the Greek family, but they remain those set forth by the church. Bardis also makes a useful summary of the essential elements of the engagement and wedding ceremonies:

1. Rings: the man's ring is of gold and symbolizes the sun, whereas the woman's ring is of silver and symbolizes the moon.
2. Crowns: these denote the marital bond and the glory of the sacrament. In Greece, these crowns are made of flowers, or evergreen, while the Russian Orthodox Church in earlier days preferred replicas of the Royal Crown.
3. Wine: this is offered to the couple in remembrance of the marriage in Cana, and symbolizes their mutual sharing of unhappiness in life.
4. Public confession of consent by both parties.
5. Blessing of the priest, which is considered very essential and is repeatedly stressed in the writings of the early church fathers.[9]

If one bears these five points in mind, the description of a peasant wedding takes on more meaning and makes greater sense to one not brought up in the Orthodox faith. Furthermore, it is apparent that the church ceremony itself is only one part of the unfolding drama in which the whole village takes a keen interest. Here, in free translation, is a day-by-day account of what happened in the village of Artotina in Aetolia, just prior to the outbreak of World War II.[10]

When the bride is ready with her dowry and the amount of money has been given to the groom's family, the date of the marriage is fixed, always on a Sunday unless one of the two people has been married before, in which case the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Eve and Epiphany (December 24–January 6). It is preceded by a week's fast, which formerly lasted forty days, ending on Christmas Eve. Throughout much of Greece it is traditional to kill a pig for Christmas, although in many villages of Thessaly people are satisfied with fowl. Indispensable is the *Christopsoma* (Bread of Christ), a large round loaf, with a cross formed of dough in the middle and with four chestnuts on each side and a fifth in the center. This is a leavened loaf but without any sugar, although in the cities it is so highly decorated with candied fruits that it resembles a sweet loaf. Special Christmas cakes as well as a number of other dishes are also prepared for the occasion.

Christmas Eve is a time for caroling, or the *kalenda*. The carols are about the birth of Christ, the joy that is spread all over the world, "so good master give us something so that we can enjoy with ease Christmas Day." In some parts of Greece adults as well as children go caroling. In addition to triangles which they play while singing, the children may carry little paper ships or houses and lighted lanterns. The carolers in the cities receive coins or sweets, but in the villages they are content with currants and nuts. They avoid homes that are in mourning, although earlier in the day many people have probably visited the cemeteries with offerings of food for the dead.

On Christmas Day itself the more devout go to the early communion service and then on to the home of the eldest relative (if he is very poor, then to the home of the richest relative). Here, in Thessaly at least, they drink *kokorozoumo*, a boullion made from boiled chicken, lamb, and beef, to which a lemon flavoring has been added. In Macedonia, a traditional dish is *dolmades*, or stuffed pickled cabbage leaves prepared on Christmas Eve and allowed to simmer in a sauce pan on a low fire all night. The men in particular drink a great deal of liquor throughout the day and generally end up inebriated, partly because they have been to call on those named Christos or Christina and been duly treated. Christmas Day, though not a time for exchanging gifts, is a special occasion to be celebrated.

Yet throughout this whole twelve-day period many of the peasants reveal an unusual anxiety, for they believe that the Evil Eye is unusually active at this time. Windows and doors must be kept shut so that bad spirits will not bring in illnesses of any kind; furthermore, these spirits — called *kallikantzari* — are usually mischievous as well. They are supposed to be little men with goats' feet, enormous heads, and big ears; they are black, for they come down the chimney which must be kept closed. To be on the safe side, it is well to put a little sugar and a glass of water by the fireplace for them to eat and drink and thus be less inclined to do harm. Every village literally teems with stories about the kallikantzari at this time of year and details differ greatly as to their appearance and pranks. Their presence is

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The Village Coffeehouse]

275 443 [427] people without any great difficulty. Many of the buildings are rented by the proprietors either from some owner who built them as an investment or from the community, which derives income from the structure. In a Macedonian village of Kimine, twenty-four miles from Salonica, there are three coffeehouses:

[403] All have adequate furniture, little tables and chairs being the standard coffeehouse equipment. All are fortunate to have battery radios also. . . . The largest coffeehouse is a community building and is rented from the community. Most of the village's middle-aged men frequent here. . . . The second coffeehouse is also rented, this time from a private owner. This coffeehouse is smaller and much neater than the previous one. Here we usually find the old men of the village, sitting around and quietly drinking and talking. The third coffeehouse is the meeting place of all the younger men in the village. This is a new building, pleasant and big.[4]

275 369 443 [522] [273] The third type of coffeehouse, found much more frequently where urban influences are strong, seldom sells ouzo and other alcoholic drinks, not because of any temperance drives, but because it caters to those who prefer coffee and an occasional sweet. This type is much more apt to be patronized by women, often in the company of a husband or father. Elsewhere in the village or town will be found *tavernas*, where wine — often that produced by the owner for his own clientele — is served in an outside courtyard with food. Many travelers to Greece have commented on the moderate use of alcoholic beverages in that country and have often pointed out that they never saw more than one or two drunk people during their whole sojourn.

But all three types of coffeehouses — the combined variety shop, the drink emporium, where liquor is served as well as coffee, and the urban type where only coffee is served — are important for reasons other than what is consumed. That is secondary, for many villagers visit a coffeehouse without buying a single drink or sweet.

Coffeehouse Attractions

275 521 208 [571] As I sat in scores of Greek coffeehouses I wondered, in looking around me, why these particular men were present at this time and what the rest of the village men were doing. I also tried to find out why certain men, perhaps five or six, were talking to each other around one table while another five or six were in earnest conversation around another table. And here and there I would find a smaller group of two or three seriously intent upon some point of discussion. What formed the nucleus of each group? Did the same people tend to cluster together each time they came to the coffeehouse? This was more than idle curiosity on my part, for I knew that the answer to such questions would reveal a great deal about how public opinion was formed in the village, opinion which in turn would be directly related to Greek national policy and even to Greek-American relations. In

1:Sanders Z-5,Y (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

275 earth-shaking political event would call forth a variety of opinions forcefully expressed.
571 A second attraction is drinking with one's friends. According to Photiadis: [521] 1/1

[273] The alcoholic or non-alcoholic beverages tend to contribute to a considerable degree to the attraction of the coffeehouse, even though the men can drink all they want in their own homes. *Ouzo*, the alcoholic drink, is drunk only in the coffeehouse. When asked why they don't drink it at home and save money, they will answer that "*ouzo* is drunk only with good company."

275 It is interesting to remember what has already been pointed out: that a
576 son is customarily supposed to visit a coffeehouse in which his father is not
593 likely to be found. Although "times are changing," a breach of this custom throughout much of rural Greece would still be considered disrespectful.
571 It may have some connection with the fact that a father, who is supposed to set a good example before his son, might find his storytelling or his con-
561 vivial drinking dampened if a son were present. This is why, in village after village, where there are almost always three coffeehouses, one is favored by the old men, another by the middle-aged, and the third by the young people. Informants will say that the young people will go to their coffeeshop because one can listen to phonograph records, watch the girls pass by, or play noisy games that the older men might not tolerate. The real reason for differentiation may lie in the older traditions which originated in the men's desire to drink with their friends and equals. Photiadis in his study points out how the Greek peasant during his hours at work looks forward eagerly to the time of day when he can go "to the coffeehouse to meet his friends, have a few drinks, and continue this cycle again and again."

275 A third source of pleasure in the coffeehouse is the games. Playing for drinks
524 is common with the loser paying for them. Very rarely do they play for money since it is prohibited by law. Sometimes they become involved in a game quite
[273] emotionally and when the game is over they eagerly look forward to the next
[525] meeting. A good card player is well-known and therefore is always surrounded
[578] by others watching him. Quarrels sometimes go along with the game. Characteristic is the sarcasm of the winner, or perhaps the participants, which tends to raise their emotions.

In addition to various kinds of card games, backgammon is commonly played. Once in a while one sees a chess game in progress.

275 A fourth and very important attraction of the coffeehouse is the avail-
204 ability of the recent newspaper and a radio. As Photiadis says:

207 Non-farmers or part-time farmers stop to listen to the early news before they go to their work. During the day the older men sit for many hours in the coffeehouse listening to the radio. In the busy coffeehouse the early part of the eve-

1/1 [Who described the Northern Greek village of Stravroupolis - ANALYST]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

parents have carefully prepared for them, is a form of pleasure so well recognized that there is a specific verb to express it: *kamarono*.

The economic activities of the family through which its members actually carry out a large part of their obligations are usually conducted by an entire household. A household in Vasilika, however, is neither limited to nor does it always include a husband and wife and their children, that is, a family. This is a result of the operation of the marriage, dowry, and inheritance system in the region (to be discussed fully in Chapter 4), and of unpredictable specific circumstances. Here it is sufficient to say that in 1961, of Vasilika's fifty-one households, twenty-six were composed of the elementary family; eight, in addition to the parents and their children, included the widowed mother of the husband; seven had a husband and a wife living alone; and three included one married son and his wife and children living in the same house with his father and mother and unmarried brothers and sisters. Of the remaining seven households, each had its own unique composition because of recent deaths in the family or other special circumstances. Whatever the particular situation, however, no Vasilika household includes anyone who is not a kinsman, nor indeed any adults outside the kinship range of parents, their grown children, or adult brothers and sisters.

Of the fifty-one households in Vasilika, thirty-five are headed by farmers who own some land. Although, for various reasons, these farmers are not all equally dependent on their land holdings for their total subsistence and income, their round of life as independent working farmers is one important expression of the aims and obligations of their families. The yearly round of agricultural activities is devoted principally to the production of grapes for wine, wheat for bread, and cotton and tobacco for cash. The farming households also engage in subsidiary activities which contribute to the production and processing of the main crops, and which add to the food supply and income of the households.

Major Crops

The first event of the agricultural year is the pruning of the grape vines. Since grapes are not a commercial crop, each farmer devotes only one or two *stremata* (four *stremata* equal one acre) to viticulture. Wine is made and consumed at home, and each farmer aims to produce only enough grapes to keep him in wine for a year. Pruning of the grape vines starts after the winter rains have abated and the early spring sun appears. Only two or three "eyes" are left on a vine, and the cuttings are carried back to the storehouses to be saved for use as fuel for spit-barbecuing the Easter lambs. Again, as we have seen, farmers are particularly conscious of fatigue in the course of the three or four days it usually takes to do the pruning. Palms have softened over the winter, the wooden handle of the pruning hook raises blisters, and the unaccustomed stooping and pulling motions cause backaches. After the pruning, deep hoeing is done to pile the earth around the short, stout vines. The work is done with a long-handled heavy hoe and, in Vasilika, is considered man's work, as is the pruning. Since the two

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

jobs in the vineyards must be finished quickly so that the men of the household may turn to plowing cotton fields, those farmers who prefer to start plowing earlier, or who have larger vineyards than the household can handle alone, sometimes hire labor for the hoeing. Sons who are not needed on their father's land may work for others in the village or may go for several days to work for relatives living in neighboring villages. In either case, they are paid a daily wage of between forty and sixty drachmas (thirty drachmas equal one dollar) and get their board as well. It requires three man-days of labor to hoe one *strema* of vineyard. Hiring labor for this is considered expensive. Farmers with fewer land resources may, in order to avoid the extra expense, ask their wives to do some hoeing. Although such a procedure is frowned on in Vasilika, a farmer considers the practical necessities of his situation as more important than any possible loss of prestige. Moreover, village opinion itself recognizes the force of a man's practical needs, and tempers criticism to the nature of the specific circumstances. This phenomenon is characteristic of Vasilika and will be mentioned again.

The vines continue to need some attention from time to time until the grapes have ripened. Wine-making begins in September with the gathering of the grapes. September itself used to be called *triyitis* (the time of the grape harvest). It is an occasion much enjoyed, since men, women, and children all pick the grapes together, talk and joke as they do so, and eat a little of the produce besides. Four or five people can pick the yield of the two *stremata* in a few hours. The pack animals carry baskets of grapes back to the house. After making certain that there are no leaves among the fruit, the men of the household wash their feet and then trample the grapes. The must collects in shallow basins and is transferred to barrels. A sample of must from each barrel (the usual household's yield is two barrels) is taken to a chemist in town to check whether sugar or alcohol or both may be needed. Payment for this service is made according to the weight of the wine the farmer will treat as a result of the chemist's advice. Besides adding the recommended quantities of sugar and white alcohol to the must, the farmers also add enough resin to make up two percent of the contents of the barrels. Resin is sold by vendors who circulate among the villages in trucks during the wine-making season. The resin gives the wine of the Greek countryside its name, *retsina*, and its characteristic flavor. In classical times the ancient Greeks and later the Romans added resin to the must as a wine preservative. It still has this function, but to the present villagers, as to the ancients, the resinated wine has a pleasing taste and, in Vasilika, is much preferred to nonresinated wines. We once started to serve a bottled Greek nonresinated wine in our village home but we were quickly informed by our village guests that it was poor indeed, and one of our visitors left the table to go home to bring a carafe of his own superior wine. Those to whom drinking a mild form of turpentine seems unpalatable at first can develop, as we discovered, a taste for *retsina* and come to enjoy it very much.

Wheat fields are plowed and sown in the fall, in late October and early November. A farmer can plow his wheat fields with a horse or two pulling a

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 43 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

been threatened with eviction but had not responded even to this. The priest had called the men of the community together to try to get backing for his decision to evict the man. The authority was granted him on that rainy Sunday, but the shepherd finally agreed to go part way toward meeting the demand and continued to live in the house.

Religious Feast Days

If the formal organization of church affairs involves village-wide action or concern only in times of crisis, certain feasts and ceremonies of the Greek Orthodox Church certainly provide a focus of interest for the entire village at regular intervals during the year. The most conspicuous of these is the sequence of events by which the villagers celebrate Easter. The Sunday before Lent begins is the particular day which starts the holiday observances in Vasilika. After church services, children ran about in the morning trying to throw powdered soot at each other and at unsuspecting adults. Later in the day, the children and unmarried men and women dressed in costumes in preparation for the arrival of the musicians—this time there were a clarinetist, a violinist, and the player of a *sanduri* (dulcimer). Some boys and girls dressed as animals and their trainers went around in groups trying to frighten the very small children or just laughing at their own antics. The young people dressed themselves as gypsies, and some of the boys put on women's clothes and walked around with mincing steps and female gestures, while some of the girls donned men's clothes and twirled false moustaches. Throughout the afternoon and early evening the musicians sat in the *aghora* and the young people and their elders danced in the space between the two coffeehouses, as virtually all the rest of the village population sat and watched. Some spectators sat at the coffeehouse tables drinking beer or soda; others brought chairs from home to sit along the walls of the houses near the *aghora*. Still others watched from second-story windows overlooking the area. All the spectators sat quietly and without expression. Those who danced paid the musicians and occasionally the watchers would proffer a glass of *ouzo* (anise liqueur) to the male dancers and to the musicians.

The dances themselves were the most commonly known traditional round dances of the Greek countryside: the *kalamatyanos*, *sirtos*, and *tsamikos*, danced in Vasilika by both men and women, but usually not at the same time. Men danced the *zembekikos* and the *khasapikos* as solos.

On this occasion, and on any other when musicians came to the village, the women of some of the more sophisticated families joined their male relatives sitting around the small coffeehouse tables.

In the evening, several families joined together for a meat-eating feast, after which bonfires were lit in different sections of the village; this time the adults joined in the carnival spirit of practical jokes and danced and sang in the security of their own neighborhoods until early morning. The next day is "Clean Monday." Many of the villagers visited Kifisokhori, which has a carnival

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

796 peculiar Saint, especially those to whom they are particularly devoted. These jolly Easterlings, when they hear . . . that the Christians pretending to be Reformed in the West, do utterly hate and abjure all such Practices as *Heathenish* and *Prophane*, must think them all the vilest Miscreants living.

796 793 574 When the last of the *antidoron* had been distributed, Anargyri had replaced the mitre in its brass box, and the Metropolitan had concluded a long conversation with the churchwardens about the best method of shoring up the roof—a section of which was sagging ominously—we left the church and made our way to the dwelling of the parish priest where a vast table had been erected in the shade of a vine. There we feasted until it was high afternoon: the Lord Agathangellos, the president of the community, the *kapetanios* of the militia, the *papas*, the schoolmaster, Anargyri, the churchwardens, the singers and several officers from the garrison of Nevrokopi who had accompanied us to Dasoto that morning.

796 574 262 273 It was not by any means my first experience of a village festival: a few months earlier I might well have been deceived into thinking that the bowls of eggs, goat's milk cheese, olives, and finely-shredded vegetables soaked in oil and lemon which appeared with the *ouzo* constituted the substance of the feast and not a mere *hors d'oeuvre*. Now I knew better, and I was not surprised when the clearing of the table by the *papadia* and her daughters after forty minutes proved to be no more than a prelude to a banquet of an altogether more serious character.

As the dishes came and went and the dark wine flowed freely, I recalled Dr. Covel's description of another such festival at the great Athonite house of Iveron: "The best monkish fare that could be gotten was provided, excellent fish (severall ways), oyl, salet, beanes, hortechockes, beets . . . chees, onions, garlick, olives, caveor, Pyes of herbs, φακαὶς, κτωπόδι; pepper, salt, saffron in all. At last conserved little oranges, most exquisite, good wine (a sort of small claret), and we alwayes drank most plentifully. . . . He is no Greek that cannot drink twenty or thirty plump glasses at a setting."

[535] After the feast there was dancing, and the sun was low in the west when we drove back to Nevrokopi. The day drew to a close amongst the eikons of those who had finished their course, with those yet in the way of salvation joining with one voice in the ancient canticle, *Hail! Gladdening Light*, to the praise and glory of the Holy Trinity.

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

students from places as far distant as Drama and Katerini. A candidate for the two-year course which the seminary provided must have reached the fourth class of his elementary school: an event which in the case of certain of the more venerable amongst these bewhiskered scholars must have been more than a generation remote from their reappearance *in statu pupillari*.

The programme of studies, as at all these lower seminaries, was eminently practical and was related at every point to the peculiar circumstances within which the Greek country parson exercises his priestly ministry. It was grounded, as is fitting, "in the Book of books, the store-house and magazine of life and comfort, the Holy Scriptures," and, in particular, in the study of the text of the Gospels. The director was assisted by another lay theologian, the preacher of the diocese. Their lectures on the Bible, doctrine, catechising, the holy canons and liturgical matters, were supplemented by instruction in the ecclesiastical chant (given by the chief singer of the metropolis), and by talks on the rudiments of first-aid from a local doctor: for the country parson does not merely "condescend to the knowledge of tillage and pasturage"; he desires to be all to his parish, and "not only a pastor but also a physician". A little medical knowledge does indeed constitute an invaluable addition to the skills of a country priest in a region where the only known medicaments are aspirins and ouzo, and doctors are as rare as dissenters.

The seminary at Kozani was housed in a rambling, somewhat dilapidated building adjoining the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian. Its furnishing and equipment were simple in the extreme. Twice a day the lecture-room was transformed into a refectory. The students slept seven or eight to a room on straw mattresses laid on the bare boards, and St. Benedict's maxim: *stramenta . . . sufficiant matta, sagum et lena et capitale*, was observed by all alike.

The liturgical life of the seminary was centred in the church which lies on the other side of the courtyard. The whole community assembled twice daily to sing the divine office, and on Sundays and holy days the liturgy was celebrated. Those amongst the students who lived within easy distance of Kozani used to go home every Saturday and return on Monday morning after celebrating the holy mysteries in their own parish churches. They used also to go to their villages for the great festivals. In other cases some temporary provision would be made for the parishes concerned: the late Metropolitan of Grevena, for example, would allow

241
461
262
[273]
437
[443]
[438]
[463]
443
492
482
000

/18 cont./
ripe olives, salty fish and plenty of wine or whisky. It has been an accepted principle among the farmers to buy plenty of tonic, that is whisky, during rush work seasons. Lack of proper food and care makes the children an easy prey for diseases.

Trading. The centuries-old method to use money as seldom as possible and to exchange goods still holds true, and it is one of the most satisfactory ways of trade under such conditions. There are several ways through which trading is done. Two bazaar days or market days are held very close to the village. One is 4 miles and the other is 5 miles. The largest is in the city of Kilkis which draws farmers from 160 villages. All the roads leading to Kilkis are jammed with every kind /19/ of travelling beast and every kind of farm products. Most people walk loaded either with live poultry, eggs, skins, butter, cheese, vegetables, wheat, etc. Very seldom one finds any person with money unless he decides to buy an animal. All these goods are exchanged in the city market either between farmers or farmers and urban people or merchants. The merchant weighs the butter and at once calculates how many pounds of sugar it can buy or live oil, or fish, or spaghetti, etc. If the farmer thinks it was a good offer the transaction is made at once, but if the farmer thinks it was too little he starts bargaining and the discussion back and forth may result in a fight or break off relations. Everything in the market is sold through bargaining. Those that do not know how to bargain usually hire expert bargainers. The most interesting part of the bazaar is the animal section. Here the buyers or the expert bargainers are called "jampaz" (tricky man). They are expert in buying and selling animals, and they are highly paid for their services. These people are well trained in animal judging and experts in telling the age of the animals. They are dressed up more uniformly and their pocket books are swollen up with money.

In the afternoon the tide of the farmers is toward /20/ their villages. The farmers go to and from the bazaar loaded. Usually they carry the load on their shoulders or use an animal. In

/60 cont./

Rotation of crops is neglected due to the high price of wheat. The best land is put into wheat and the poor land into oats and barley. The recent introduction of vetch may revolutionize the rotation system and may help answer the livestock management problems.

The Local Groceries. Out of five groceries two have closed due to depression years of 1930-33. The three groceries are doing well only on books. Their /61/ non-collected capital exceeds 3 times their active capital. The cooperative grocery gives keen competition but its credit is limited to members and it has a successful way of collecting the debts at threshing time with the cooperatives' threshing machine. Just before threshing the three local groceries treat their customers with wine and whisky so as to be able to collect their debts. All kinds of methods are used at harvest time.

The local grocery owners do their farming too and in most cases all their farming jobs are done by the farmers in paying their debts. No grocery man could make his living out of grocery business alone, but keeps it for spending his leisure time.

PART IV. HABITS OF CONSUMPTION

Household Expenditures. People who lose all they had two to four times in their lifetime will not want to buy anything unless its need is essential. Life is more or less simplified and the household expenditures run very low. In one of the accounts we find that for household expenditures the farmer spent 2.500 drs. ($16.66). This sum is too high. We must remember that these farmers were just settled and had nothing whatsoever to start with.

/62/ A few small chairs, a rough table, a few wooden spoons and a few copper kitchenware make the kitchen's utensils. Pictures of a few relatives and their own hang on the wall with a few handmade embroideries.

/93 cont./ 627
Thracians were of the worst type and usually would end with bloodshed.

Social Control, Formal and Informal Aspects of Control. [623]
The "Gerousia" usually exercised a degree of informal control [692]
over its members through its generally-accepted definitions of what is right or wrong. The government courts had little influence [685]
in this. There was no stealing among the Caucasians; many families would leave their houses unlocked and work in the fields; their implements scattered in the yards and the poultry nests out in the open.

Drinking is among the forms of behavior against which the 626
women of Megali Vrisi voice their disapproval. All the men drink, 273
but actually there are few who drink for the sake of getting drunk. When I ventured to ask some of those who get drunk, "Why they do it", almost everyone of them said, "to forget the miserable life". Some of them, due to deportations and wars, have lost all property, wives and children and the only comfort they find is to get drunk and get sentimental and weep.

/94/ Community Events. The recently organized community 543
fairs represent the inception of social organization for the pro- 621
motion of recreation. The purpose of these fairs was competition 476
in agricultural products and wholesome recreation, which meant 578
so much to these villagers, but social conflict soon discontinued these fairs. Outsiders were invited to talk at these occasions and athletic events would give it a happy ending.

The Use of Leisure Time and Visiting. One of the major 461
problems that confronts every one working in Megali Vrisi is how 517
to use the excess leisure time more profitably. This excess leisure 241
time is the cause of conflicts and drunkenness. Due to the nature [578]
of their agriculture the rush work season comes in the fall for two months and two months in summer. The rest of the time very little work is done in the fields. During the winter months from December to April there is no farm work except the chores which are done by the women. This long slack season is an acute problem for the farmers themselves. From morning until late in